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"Daily Life in the Occupied Territories" by Claude Lazar

Historical Imperatives and Palestinian Rights: Beyond Camp David

A rescue operation, which is what the Camp David Summit is all about, is always a commendable act when what is being rescued is in fact worth the trouble. A peace initiative is, of course, always worth rescuing; but the initiative that President Carter is attempting to revive, by inviting Sadat and Begin to confer with him at Camp David, September 5, is not a peace initiative but a war initiative, mounted by Israel to reassert Zionist commitments to continued military occupation, territorial expansionism, the bloody rule of the gun in the West Bank/Gaza and the devastating pain inflicted on the Palestinians all these years.

It is a fact that the present Israeli intransigence stems from the traditionalist and fanatic position of Menachem Begin, who is a product of the ethos of Zionism itself, a movement led by old-guard, insecure and paranoid politicians who are themselves the product of the intensely racist and colonial values of the turn of the century era in Europe, when Third World people were dismissed as an inferior species of human beings and their lands were fair game for take over by European settlers. (This arrogance has manifested itself equally in Zimbabwe and Azania ["South Africa"] as it has in Palestine.)

Hence, rescue missions, peace initiatives and negotiating forums aside, unless there is a dramatic shift in Israel's perceptions about what constitutes a settlement, it is difficult to envisage the majority of the Jews in Palestine being genuinely reconciled to the idea that there are a Palestinian people with aspirations for freedom and statehood in their own country. The tragic, but abominable, fact is that Israeli Jews, long subjected to their leaders' rhetoric about "biblical Israel" and the rest of it, remain unreconciled to the one crucial factor that would bring peace: Palestinian rights, even if these were partial rights as expressed in statehood on the mere 21 per cent remnant of 1948 Palestine in the West Bank/Gaza.

In reality, Israeli Jews in Palestine recognize nobody else's right in Palestine except that of the Jews.

There is almost as much opposition in Israel, for example, to returning the West Bank in any real territorial and political sense to Jordan as there is to the establishment there of a Palestinian state. More than that, even those few Israelis who favor the return of the West Bank and Gaza do so not out of a feeling that it belongs to the Arabs, (all true Zionists believe that even the whole of Jordan, among other

places in the Arab nation, belong to "Eretz Israel"), but because returning them would be politically expedient, say as a measure to prevent a devastating war where Jewish lives are lost.

Indeed, before Menachem Begin's ascendance to power in Palestine, a debate raged openly (but in Hebrew), among Israeli politicians and "intellectuals," whose main thrust was that it would be easier in the future to recapture the West Bank from Hussein than it would be from the Palestinians, entrenched in a sovereign state.

The neo-fascist Likud coalition, headed by Menachem Begin, the former leader of the Irgun Gang, is in fact no different, in the substance of its position, from the Labor Party. The platform of each rests on the notion of territorial expansion and the incredible inanities inherent in the concept of "Greater Israel."

Rabin, for instance, when in power, may have dissimulated better than the fanatically direct Begin, but the position of both is identical. Rabin in 1975 and 1976 was as much opposed to a Palestinian state, to negotiations with the PLO and to total withdrawal from the occupied territories, as Begin is today. It may also be added that Rabin, like Golda Meir before him, dropped concussion bombs on Lebanon, imprisoned and tortured as many Palestinians, blew up as many homes, deported as many people, confiscated as much land and built as many illegal settlements, with the same frequency and arrogance as Begin is doing today.

Zionist leaders, since the early days when Jewish settlers began arriving in Palestine 60 years ago, have not changed one iota in their racist views about the Arab people and the Arab world.

Certainly, these views have become ever more frozen and static since 1967. The cornerstone of these views is that the Palestinians can indefinitely remain a captive population in the West Bank/Gaza and an exiled people in the surrounding countries. And if this paranoid position is hard to believe, it will be recalled that no other than Amon Cohen, who is dubbed [improbably enough] a professor of Islamic History at the University of Jerusalem, and who is [more significantly] the top advisor to the occupying military government in the West Bank, wrote in the Israeli paper, *Maariv*, June 2, 1977, that the occupation of the Palestinian people and their territories in the West Bank and in Gaza can endure for generations. (Yes, he used the plural.)

This devotion to conquest of land and

subjugation or expulsion of people extends, like a well-patterned, well-delineated design, to all Zionist thinking; not just in the neo-fascist Jabotinski faction (of which Begin is a follower) but also to its labor "left" wing as well.

In fact, the Labor parties in the Zionist movement in Palestine, in the 1920's and 1930's, concerned about the existence of a vast Palestinian Arab majority in the country, devoted more time to the matter of how to expel Palestinians, or create conditions for their flight, than the fascists did.

In her book, *The Struggle Which Failed: Hebrew Labor 1929-1939*, published in Hebrew by the Tel Aviv University, 1977, Anita Shapira outlines this in detail. She explains (p. 58) that the first significant expression by important Zionist leaders about their sinister plans for the future of Palestinians was made by Aharon Cizling. Cizling, who became leader of the Mapam (Labor) Party and a minister in the first Israeli government, argued in 1930 that Palestinian Arab workers should not under any circumstances be helped to unionize, because "it would be better if they were unorganized when the time for transfer came." Cizling had added that the "wandering" of the Palestinian people (from Palestine to the surrounding countries) should be planned and agreed upon. And all of this dastardly ruthlessness was expressed, according to Shapira's research, at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Mapam Party.

In those days, as in these, such views were subscribed to by the top echelon leadership of the Zionist movement. In the Report of the Congress of the World Council of Poale Zion, Zurich, July 29, 1937 (published in Tel Aviv, 1938), Ben Gurion, commenting on the Peel Commission partition plan, proposed the "transfer" of the Palestinian population "if possible of their own free will, if not by coercion... to enlarge Jewish colonization."

Nothing has changed. Zionist colonization plans remain the same today as they were then.

In the West Bank and Gaza, as in the rest of Palestine, Menachem Begin is merely carrying on a tradition, a long practiced tradition characteristic of Zionism, that forms the root-fibre of Israeli thinking, and from which flows all Israel's policies of expansion, settlements, occupation, napalm, deportations and the rest of it.

What has to be changed then is the
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July 26th celebration.



Palestinian delegation.

In Solidarity

Report from Havana: The Eleventh World Youth Festival

Driving from the airport to Havana, Cuba, delegates to the Eleventh World Youth Festival saw a giant billboard which proclaimed: "Welcome youth of the world, Cuba is your home," in Spanish, Russian, French, English and Arabic. This set the tone of hospitality and internationalism for the 20,000 delegates from around the world who came to celebrate this Eleventh Festival, during the week of July 28 - August 5.

The World Youth Festival is held every four years in a different country. The Festivals provide an opportunity for thousands of progressive youth and student activists to express their solidarity with their comrades and their ongoing struggles. Cuba as host made the Festival all the more significant. Cuba, a small island only 90 miles from the center of the U.S. empire, has transformed itself in the twenty five years since the Cuban Revolution from colonial poverty and exploitation to a society struggling for socialism and justice — and capable of hosting 20,000 people at one time. All delegates were received at least once by block committees in Havana, for dinner, music and general discussion.

The slogan of the Festival itself was: "For anti-imperialist peace and friendship." The dominant theme is the imperative need for international understanding and solidarity between struggles, from the fighting fronts in the Third World to the heart of the industrialized nations of the West. Delegates from 149 countries, representing all races and many different ideologies met to exchange ideas, information and discuss ways of helping each other's struggles. Political forums, solidarity events, seminars, informal gatherings and parties provided ample opportunity for such invaluable

exchanges. Bi-lateral meetings were arranged independently by each delegation, which provided the best opportunity for discussion of respective struggles, and for concrete information-sharing. They were also often the first time progressive youth from certain countries met with representatives of struggles which they had long supported. The meeting of the U.S. and Vietnamese delegations was extremely rewarding, as Americans, many for the first time, met representatives of a unified Vietnam. The Vietnamese delegation was much in demand, a tribute to their years of valiant and successful struggle.

Meetings and political forums were not the only arenas of education and exchange at the Festival. Poster and photographic exhibitions, as well as films and multi-national gala events of poetry, music and dance filled the week. The hall of the Havana Capitol held a permanent exhibit from each delegation. Two major themes running through the exhibits were the appalling suffering and oppression of the world's people caused by imperialism and the armed resistance of liberation struggles. Because of its different emphasis, the Palestinian exhibit was striking. A series of photographs showed hospitals, vocational training centers and schools run by the PLO outside the occupied lands and by Palestinians under occupation in Ramallah and Jerusalem.

The 150 person delegation itself (which included a folk troupe) like the Vietnamese, Chilean and the exiled South Africans of the African National Congress, was one of the most sought for bi-lateral meetings as their struggle is so pivotal to world peace and justice. The American delegation met with

twenty five PLO representatives, at the Salvadore Allende school where all Middle East and African delegations were housed. Predictably, the American delegation had an mixed understanding of the situation in the Middle East. The questions centered, for the most part, on the PLO as an organization and on the current situation in Lebanon. It was a productive and warm meeting, and for many, a first chance to meet with Palestinians. The PLO held separate meetings with delegates from the American Indian movement and the Raza Unida party.

The centrality of the Palestinian struggle was reinforced at the solidarity meeting where over 1,000 people met at the Port of Havana to hear messages of solidarity and support from numerous countries. In the midst of these speeches, Yasser Arafat arrived. Arafat had been in Cuba for several days attending the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution held July 26. After his brief remarks on the need for international solidarity, a member of the African National Congress (ANC) came forward to greet him. Their joined and raised hands and the ANC-PLO chant re-emphasized the common struggle against racism and settler colonialism.

At an international press conference with one thousand journalists on July 31, Arafat had stressed the importance of holding the Youth Festival in Latin America for the first time. He remarked that this confirms the unity of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and all the progressive forces in the world against imperialism, Zionism and racism. After praising the Cuban people and the Cuban government for its support of the Palestinian revolution, Arafat added that

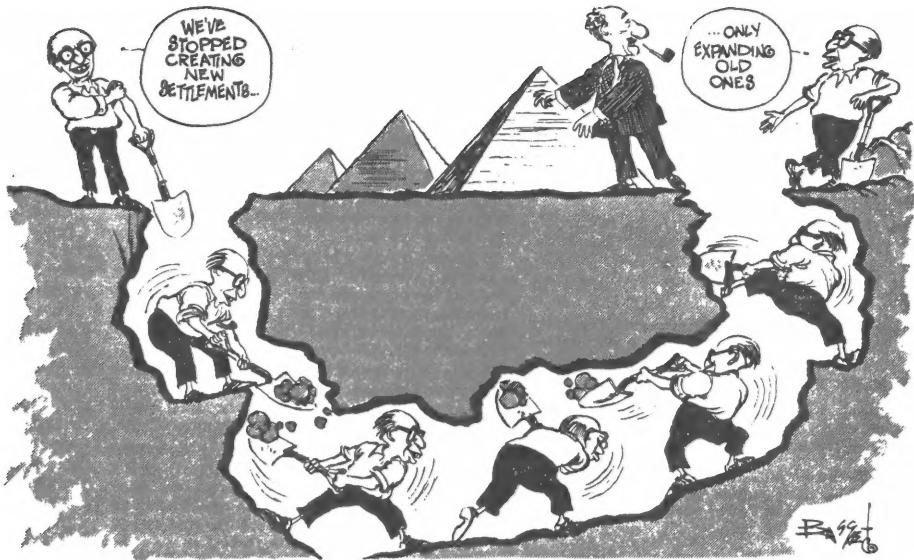
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Sharon Leads Intensive Settlement Drive

Israeli Agriculture Minister Arik Sharon, called by one Israeli newspaper the "Godfather of settlement," suffered one disappointment last month when the Israeli Cabinet hastily revoked its approval of Sharon's proposal to establish five more "foothold" settlements on the West Bank. A series of new actions in July and August by Sharon, however, balanced this temporary defeat. Sharon stated the rationale behind this round of frenzied settlement activity when he said to an interviewer: "We are now at the end of an era after which it will be impossible to do anything in this field." In other words, the spectre of peace is haunting Sharon, and Begin's Likud Party intends to carry out as much settlement activity as possible.

In the light of the impending Camp David summit, Sharon is pursuing a more clandestine strategy. Journalist Aver Taavori, writing in *Yedi'ot Aharonot* on August 18, described Sharon's new system of "moving" an existing settlement which already has government approval to nearby land. The settlement, of course, does not really move and the result is two settlements. Taavori comments: "In theory this will be simply a "move" of an existing settlement—in fact, a totally new settlement will be established on government-owned land nearby that has caught Minister Sharon's eye." Taavori noted the international furor a few months ago over the Nebi Salech settlement and remarked; "Today, a few weeks before the important meeting at Camp David, not one tractor but scores of tractors and bulldozers are at work at several locations in Judea and Samaria "expanding" and "moving."

In an August tour of settlements with Israeli journalists, Sharon admitted to the rapid expansion of existing settlements, announcing a goal of 2,500 new settlers by January of 1979. Already, 100 more Jewish families are slated for the West Bank settlements of Quarne Shorman and Haris and in mid-August, the Cabinet approved Sharon's request for additional construction at Haris and Tapuah. Four settlements were also expanded in the Golan, although Sharon remarked that "such things are not being publicized today because of their sensitivity." On July 26, the Jerusalem Domestic Service reported that the Settlement Department of the Zionist Federation announced plans to "flesh out the settlements the Sinai approaches." Sharon himself announced in a July 18 *Ha'aretz* interview that "we are now in the midst of establishing 20 settlements in the Galilee area."



Thus, all Palestinians, whether under military occupation or living inside the "green line" in the Galilee, and all the occupied land — whether Sinai, Golan, West Bank or Gaza—are targets for Sharon's "transformation of Palestine." His activities follow the "Sharon Plan" which *Al Hammeshar* newspaper of August 18 described:

"Schematically, Agriculture Minister Arik Sharon's settlement plan for Eretz Israel is as follows: Jewish settlements all along the border of the country, including the coastal strip, which would close in the Arab population on all sides. The population, which is mainly located in the central part of the north and south of the country, would be divided into two strips by a Jewish settlement wedge along what is called the "junctions line" or, as Dayan calls it, the "Arik line," which runs 20 km east of the Green Line.

"As far as channeling the Arab population is concerned, the plan does not differentiate between Israeli Arabs and the residents of the territories. The junctions line arbitrarily divides them into two longitudinal strips held between pincers. One—on the coastal plain, between the coastal strip and the junctions line; the second — on the mountain ridge between the junctions line and the Jordan valley. Today, the junctions line itself includes 10 approved settlements (from north to south): Rehan, Dotan, Sanur, Ma'ale Nahal (Silat az-Zahr), Shomron, Elon More (Qaddum), Quarne Shomron, Hares, An-Nabi Salih and upper Bet Horon.

In addition to the longitudinal division, the

Arab population will also be divided latitudinally in Judaea and Samaria by three roads, already partly in existence, which will link the coastal strip with the Jordan valley and serve as natural lines for the establishment of additional Jewish settlements within the Arab population. One of the three roads, the road crossing Samaria, will pass through Elqana, Hares, Tapu'ah and Ma'ale Efrayim.

The philosophy behind the plan is one of divide and rule. The more the Arab population is divided and split with the country, the easier it will be to govern them, and — with a change in the political situation — the easier it will be to pull its teeth."

The extreme right-wing "Gush Emunim" are Sharon's active partners and also make up the bulk of the new settlers. *Ha'aretz* newspaper of August 15 reported that: Members of "Gush Emunim" gain magical access to maps which are out of bounds to any other citizen. One version has it that members of the Israel Lands Authority and the military government have cooperated with members of the "Gush" on several occasions. Senior officials in the Lands Authority and officers in the military government "volunteered" to help the members of "Gush Emunim" and show them on maps where in the West Bank government land was situated and where private land was situated, where it was possible to expropriate land and where it was undesirable to establish settlements."

Sharon maintains that settlement activity

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Behind the Mass Deportation of Palestinians

At dawn on April 9, 1948, members of the Irgun and Stern gangs, two Zionist military organizations, attacked the peaceful Arab village of Deir Yassin and massacred 254 Arab men, women and children. Mutilated bodies of some victims were later found in a well. Zionist leaders pursued this policy of terror to accomplish the depopulation of Arab Palestine in order to pave the way for Jewish settlers. The current Prime Minister of Israel, Menahem Begin, was the leader of the Irgun at the time of Deir Yassin.

At present, the policy of depopulating the land of its Arab inhabitants takes another form—deportation. In this case, deportation very simply means the forceful eviction of Palestinians to take over their homeland.

The Zionists have used “deportation” to achieve several goals: 1. To reduce the Arab population of the occupied territories. 2. To induce an atmosphere of terror among the civilian population with the aim of discouraging resistance, and to place the occupied area under tight military control. 3. To secure control of the economic assets of the occupied territories, including land. 4. In individual cases of deportation, to deprive the population of anyone who might lead resistance activity. 5. To spread a feeling of terror to neighboring Arab countries and create strain in them.

The Fourth Geneva Convention, Article 49, specifies that “individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the occupying power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited regardless of their motive.” Ironically, this convention was drafted to combat mass deportation of Jews carried out by Hitler during World War II.

The Israeli policy of depopulation and “deportation” is also defined as a crime by the London Agreement for the “prosecution and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis” (1945) which formed the basis of the charter for the International Tribunal at Nuremberg.

According to a 1977 study, compiled by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), 1,136 Palestinians were deported between June 1967 and February 1977. The bulk of the deportations took place between 1969-1971.

Palestinian “deportees” have included mayors, labor and religious leaders, teachers, principals of schools, a university president, heads of women’s societies, town

chiefs, student leaders, doctors, judges, lawyers, journalists and writers. The emphasis is on the intelligentsia and active members of Palestinian society, thus depriving Palestinians of their leaders and spokespersons. A high percentage of the “deportees” serve prison terms where they are interrogated, and often tortured, before “deportation.”

Palestinian leading personalities are “deported” under the Defense Emergency Regulations of 1945, laws originally drafted by Great Britain to combat Zionist terror in Palestine. Articles 109 and 112 of the 1945 laws deal specifically with the subject of deportation.

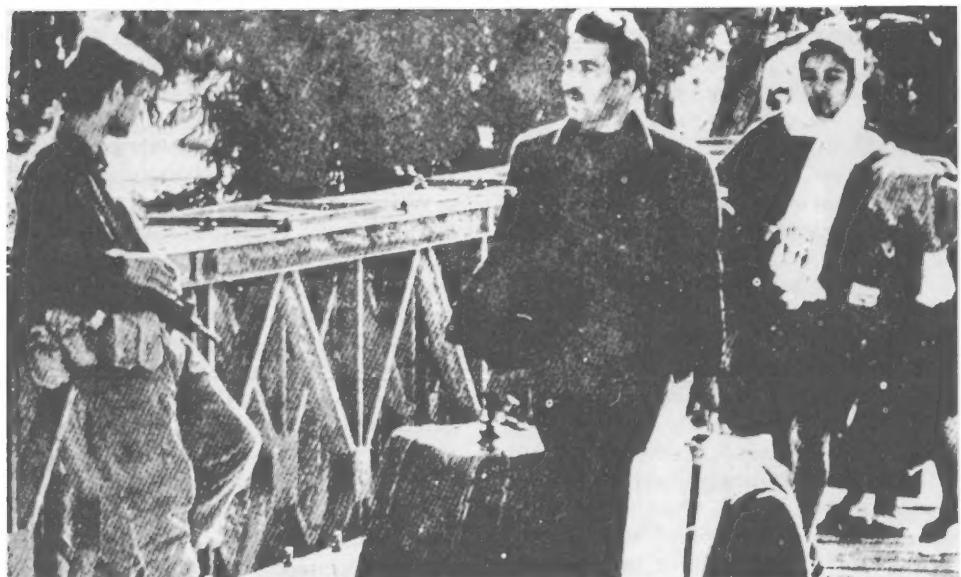
Prominent among deported Palestinians are attorney Abdul Muhsin, Abu Maizer and Kamal Nasser, former PLO spokesman assassinated by Israeli agents in Beirut in 1973, Rauhi al-Khatib, former mayor of Jerusalem, Sheikh Abdul Hamid Sayih, highest Muslim figure in the occupied West Bank, Ibrahim Bakr, current President of the Jordanian Lawyers Association, Abdel Jawad Salih, former mayor of Bireh and Lutfiyah Al-Hawary, a distinguished poet and teacher. Lutfiyah had been arrested five times without any charge. On August 7, 1969, Israelis planted explosives in her home and later forced her to confess that she had attempted to assassinate an Israeli agent in Ramallah prison. Lutfiyah was subjected to all kinds of torture while in prison—with injections, electric shocks, confinement in a narrow and cold cell, the use of prostitutes to inflict humiliation and physical torture.

she was later released and deported on February 5, 1970.

The “deportees” are usually picked up from their homes late at night, handcuffed and blindfolded and driven by Israeli military escorts to the Lebanese or Jordanian border where they are forced to walk into exile. Dr. Hanna Nasir, President of Bir Zeit University, was arrested by Israeli soldiers late at night, handcuffed, blindfolded and driven by an Israeli military vehicle with four other Palestinian leaders to the Lebanese border. With guns pointed at them, they were told to walk to the border and never look back. They tried to protest, but the soldiers pointed the guns and shouted: “Go!”

The mayor of Al Bireh, Abdel Jawad Saleh, was expelled with four other intellectuals by soldiers who shouted obscenities at them. A few days later, they tried to walk back across the bridge but Israeli soldiers fired warning shots and pushed them back, tearing down their signs that read “We want to return to our families.” Their wives and children have remained in the occupied West Bank but they cannot see their “deported” husbands and fathers.

The world should not remain passive before the crimes of torture, persecution, assassination and “deportation” inflicted on the Palestinian people. Peace in the Middle East will never come about as long as Israel continues to deny the Palestinians their most basic and inalienable rights—the right to exist and live in peace in their land.



“Deportee” leaving the West Bank.

Roots of the Lebanese Crisis

The Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the Near East held hearings on August 16th to discuss the situation in Lebanon. The hearings were held upon the request of the American Lebanese League (ALL). The interest in the issue by members of the subcommittee was not overwhelming since only the chairman, Senator Richard Stone, a Democrat from Florida, attended and asked questions on behalf of the subcommittee. Testifying were Dr. Charles Malik, a former ambassador to Washington from Lebanon, Mr. Robert Basil, President of the American Lebanese League, Mr. Morris Draper, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, and Mr. Jear R. Abinader, Executive Director of the National Association of Arab Americans.

Dr. Malik described Lebanon as a "sick country that has been sick for sometime." He said that since Lebanon is sick it needs help from an outsider, namely the United States. The causes of the sickness of Lebanon identified by Dr. Malik, who is undoubtedly a scholar, were "thirty three" different ones. He mentioned "inter-Arab feuds, social, economic and political stresses and injustices in Lebanon, the presence of certain flaws in the body politic of the country, the Palestinian factor, the Israeli factor, the Syrian factor. . ."

Dr. Malik also said that Lebanon is unique in "seven" respects. This uniqueness, he said, is under attack and there "seems to be a concerted effort, a determined will, to do away with the uniqueness of Lebanon." In addition, he described Lebanese society as being pluralistic, open and free as American or the West European societies in all aspects. Speaking for the Christian community, Dr. Malik said that he categorically denies that the Christians want to partition Lebanon. Lebanon can't be partitioned because it is not a whole, he said.

Dr. Malik stipulated "eleven" different points which he thought would aid the rehabilitation of Lebanon. In brief, he called for the withdrawal of the Syrian portion of the Arab Peace Keeping Forces from Lebanon, the building and strengthening of the Lebanese National Army, and declared his support for "America's interest in the forces of moderation" in the area. He also warned that Lebanon could be radicalized if any of its religious communities perceived themselves as being oppressed.

In our view, the observation by Dr. Malik concerning the long time sickness of Lebanon is an undisputed and obvious conclusion. The causes of the sickness, however, and the prescription for its cure



Lebanese rightist soldier threatens civilians, Beirut, 1976.

provided by Dr. Malik were wrong. The former ambassador not only failed to mention some of the more crucial causes, but he neglected to outline in depth the causes he listed. If a sickness is wrongly diagnosed and medicine provided on the basis of a wrong diagnosis, then almost certainly the patient will not recover.

The prescribed withdrawal of the Syrian, and perhaps the whole Arab Peace Keeping Force, will assuredly not help the patient and may even be fatal. The American connection will undoubtedly fail to help at this stage just as it has failed in the past. What is an obvious necessity is a strong government capable of speaking for the majority of Lebanese. It is an element of Lebanese life which has been missing for an unduly long time. To speak of the openness, plurality and free characteristics of the Lebanese system, and to compare these political characteristics with those existing in the United States and Western Europe, is to not really be factual. It is the injection of these very elements into the Lebanese political system which is the ultimate and the core prescription for Lebanon.

When a popular government is democratically elected in Lebanon which reflects the political views, goals and aspirations of the majority of the Lebanese people, stability will have a chance to endure. Placing the blame on foreign interference for any and every strife in Lebanon is ignoring the facts. To a large extent, the geographic location of Lebanon in the Middle East, a volatile region politically, economically and militarily, is a crucial factor in creating a climate of tension in the country.

There are many who believe today that what happened in Lebanon since 1975 was

inevitable. The presence, or even the absence, of the Palestinians in Lebanon was not a factor underlying the basic causes of the civil war. Supporters of this view also argue that it was, and still is, the injustices of the Lebanese system itself that bear the real blame. Although it is true that similar injustices can be found in other systems around the world and in the Middle East as well, the many variables contributing to the conditions in Lebanon, however, and the nature of the Lebanese government served as a catalyst in the instigation of the crisis.

Dr. Malik in one of his answers denied the existence of militias and rejected the usage of the terms "rightists" because it also signifies fascists. Unquestionably, these terms, even in the sympathetic Western press, are the only correct ones that could truly describe the fighting elements of the "Christians" in Lebanon. Ignoring the political reality of the various factions in Lebanon will help the country neither as a political entity nor as a society. Evidence of the accuracy of these terms in describing the Phalange Party comes from its own leaders in an interview featured in the film "The Palestinian." In explaining their ideological roots, the respondents spoke highly of the order and discipline and philosophy of the Nazi Movement in 1939. According to one interviewee, the intentional killing of Palestinian children is a worthy goal.

An additional factor in Lebanon which Dr. Malik chose to ignore is the existence of chieftains, warlords and family alliances characteristic of Europe in the Middle Ages. Such alliances balance each other and serve to fill the power vacuum created in the absence of a strong Lebanese government. How then can such a system tolerant of

such medieval power struggles be compared with the twentieth century societies of Europe and the United States? Clearly such an analysis becomes useless.

The spokesman for the American Lebanese League, Mr. Robert Basil, blamed the entire crisis in Lebanon on the "Palestinians and their allies." In his statement Mr. Basil said that the new "aggression against Lebanese Christians is about to destroy their society. . . (and) transform Lebanon into a virtual puppet of Syria and into a confrontation state with Israel." He called for the immediate withdrawal of "Syria's army" from Lebanon. In addition he said that "we Lebanese Americans, as do Lebanese citizens, do not have. . . enmity towards Jews, or the State of Israel, or the Arab states" and therefore Lebanon should not be forced to become a confrontation state.

Mr. Basil's statement was full of inaccuracies. It should be noted that he does not speak for all, or even a small faction of Lebanese Americans, most of whom clearly view the problem differently from the American Lebanese League. Apparently, however, Mr. Basil feels that he is authorized to speak not only for American Lebanese but also for "Lebanese citizens." It is the hope of most, however, that Lebanon will unite and that it will have a strong national army to replace the many armed groups in the country.

Mr. Draper, the State Department spokesman, emphasized the support of the United States Government for Lebanon's "independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty, its national cohesion and unity. . . [which means] we are opposed to moves towards partition." He also stated that the United States called for and helped to adopt a United Nations Resolution, 425, which called on Israel to withdraw its military forces from southern Lebanon. In a summary of the events leading up to the Syrian intervention in the Lebanese civil war, Mr. Draper said that the Syrians intervened when there was no institution of government in Lebanon and "when the Christian community was in grave danger of being defeated militarily by the Palestinian and Lebanese leftist forces."

Mr. Draper spoke further about the problem the Lebanese Government is facing today in the establishment of its authority in the south. He explained that certain forces in the area of the south, which he repeatedly referred to as Christian militia, in cooperation with the Israeli Army are forbidding the units of the Lebanese Army to reach their point of destination. Like Mr. Basil and Dr. Malik, Mr. Draper called for the building of a strong Lebanese government and army, and he criticized the forces which are impeding the implementation of their authority of Lebanese soil, referring to Israel and its agent, the "Christian militia."

Mr. Draper and the United States government are either unwilling or incapable of convincing their allies, the Israeli and the rightist forces, that it is not in the interest of Lebanese unity to oppose the Lebanese army. Israel's role in the Lebanese crisis is no longer a secret. The level of cooperation between the rightist forces and the Israeli forces is at its highest. The Israelis train, supply, resupply them and even fight on their side. It is hoped that the United States will be able to twist the arms of Israel and its agents, the isolationists, in order to put an end to their acts of piracy against the Lebanese people and army.

The most accurate statement submitted to the subcommittee was by Mr. Jean Abinader, Executive Director of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA). He identified himself as the son of Lebanese born parents and a follower of the Maronite faith. Mr. Abinader refuted the argument presented by some that all Maronite Christians share a single ideology. He also disclaimed that he or his organization speaks for all Lebanese Americans or "Lebanese citizens," as claimed by Mr. Basil in his testimony. Abinader, as objectively as possible, reviewed the major historical factors of the conflict in Lebanon.

In his discussion of Lebanon, Mr. Abinader condemned violence of all parties to the conflict, and called for a cessation of hostilities. He pointed out that the losers of the conflict were most obviously Lebanon itself, the Lebanese, Palestinian and Arab peoples. "Above all," he said, "the tragedy in Lebanon serves the interest of no one but Israel. Principle opponents of Israel are distracted, and Israeli settlements and creeping annexation of the occupied territories continue." Mr. Abinader touched upon the very causes of the "Lebanese tragedy," as he called it. "Social and economic disparities in Lebanon," he said, "have generated warnings for years that only systematic change, including secularization of the government, could bring the equity so lacking in Lebanon today." The NAAA speaker also said that the hope of reconstructing Lebanon is through a program "that addresses the hopes and aspirations of all its inhabitants, without regard to regional, religious, or economic consideration."

Mr. Abinader pointed out that the problem of Lebanon is intertwined with the overall problem of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Settlement of the latter then becomes more urgent. He called on President Carter to put some pressure on Israel to bring about a settlement to the Middle East problem. The formula for such a settlement, he said, should be that which already attracted world attention. "Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and Palestinian self determination in exchange for Arab acceptance of Israel's presence in the region."

There is no doubt that the beneficiary of the war in Lebanon was and continues to be Israel. Israel's sudden and intense love and concern for the rightist Lebanese is not very unprecedented in such situations. It is natural for Israel to play the role it is playing in the war in Lebanon or even to instigate a war if necessary. Palestinian and Arab suspicions of the magnitude of cooperation between the rightist isolationists and Israel prior to the outbreak of the crisis in Lebanon have been clearly confirmed by now. Israel's occupation of Arab land and its denial of the Palestinians' right of self-determination was in the past and is today still being condemned by the world community. Rather than cooperating with Israel and providing it with a pretext for the occupation of even more Arab land and the creation of even greater numbers of refugees, the Arab people of Lebanon as a whole should harshly condemn and resist the Israeli state.

The role of Israel in Lebanon should be exposed for what it is, definitely not a concerned party for the "pain and suffering" of the Lebanese people, not even the "Christians" which it claims to defend. Rather Israel can be seen as having a zealous concern aiming at a split of the country and the establishment of a satellite state on its own northern border. Nothing could be more satisfactory for the Israelis than to see this scenario become reality. The Palestinians, their fighting forces and the progressive elements in Lebanon will not, however, allow Israel's plan to be realized. It is hoped that all the progressive forces in the Arab world will also do the utmost to block the Israeli-isolationist scheme. Lebanon is an Arab country in need of a popular and secularly elected government which represents all of its people. The ills of Lebanon will never be cured by a minority of rightist isolationists, even with Israel's deliberate machinations.



Refugees from Israeli invasion.

Palestinian Health Care: For the Well-being of a People

The "health problems" of the Palestinian people immediately following the 1948 war and the expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians from Palestine, are synonymous with the tragedy of exile. The February 27, 1949 *New York Times* described "progressive starvation" among Palestinian children in Jordan and "babies dying because there was no milk." Other observers reported people dying of the cold — as many as 40 a night in the Ramallah area. With the establishment of UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) in 1950, the situation improved but UNWRA's understaffed medical facilities could not really touch the core of Palestinian health problems — both the physical living conditions in the sprawling makeshift camps with poor sanitation, overcrowding, bad water and inadequate food and the social condition of living without a country, stateless, branded as "refugees."

UNWRA was set up as a "temporary relief" agency until the situation of the Palestinians could be settled. The United Nations had, in fact, resolved in November of 1948 that "refugees wishing to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbors would be allowed to do so as soon as practicable." But thirty years later, UNRWA remains and continues to be unable to meet basic needs. In fact, this year, because of budget cuts, the basic ration for the individual was cut from 1500 calories per day to between 600 and 700 calories, which UNWRA admits "cannot maintain life." The UNWRA staff report to the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations added: "The spare nature of the rations is underscored by the fact that even in a refugee family with eligible ration recipients, the number receiving rations would typically be at least one below the family size." Less than \$30/year is spent on each UNRWA recipient for all services.

Change in the physical and social well-being of the Palestinians came not through "relief," but with the re-emergence of a Palestinian national movement in the wake of the June War of 1967, a movement able to break through the hopelessness of exile or occupation with goals for the future and programs for the present that met the needs of the people.

Among these new institutions was the Palestine Red Crescent Society, founded in 1969. In the nine years of its existence, the PRCS, which is a full member of the Arab National Societies and has been admitted as an observer member to the International Red Cross, Red Crescent, Red Lion and



Sun societies, has built and runs 120 clinics and 50 hospitals in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, the West Bank and Gaza. During the Lebanese civil war, with the Lebanese Ministry of Health dysfunctional, and with many trained medical personnel leaving Beirut, the PRCS became responsible for health care in much of Western Beirut. By setting up field hospitals in public buildings and private homes, including a 500 bed hospital in Arab University, and by training scores of young men and women as paramedics, the PRCS was able to provide continued medical services to a desperate population, despite the shelling of hospitals and the complete destruction of Jerusalem Hospital by the Lebanese rightists. The UNRWA 1977 Report noted of the period of the war: "First aid and surgical treatment of war casualties were provided. to a great extent, by the Palestine Red Crescent."

The PRCS provides free medical care, unlike the expensive hospital at Beirut's American University. Less than 50% of its patients are Palestinians and hospitals report treating Phalangists during the war. While some doctors and nurses fled Beirut, PRSC staff remained in the camps and heavily-shelled areas, including Tal al Zaatar during its 53 day siege. 16-20-hour work days were common for all personnel. The head of the Red Crescent information office remarked: "Our doctors belong to the

revolution. The people in the camp are their family."

The siege of Tal al Zaatar led to the founding of the first hospital for children in Western Beirut, Nazareth Hospital. The first patients were survivors of the siege, who suffered malnutrition and extreme dehydration, which in some cases led to encephalitis. One 2-1/2 year old suffered from paralytic rigidity, unable to move any part of his body, caused by psychological trauma. Nazareth's staff consisted at its opening of three doctors, one Palestinian, one Lebanese and one from Bangladesh, part of a 78 person volunteer team from that country.

Though PRCS hospitals strive for the best equipment and medical innovations — Acre hospital recently had its first open heart surgery and has an operating room larger than the American University hospital — PRSC hospitals are often forced to be resourceful. The Damour hospital, founded to serve Tal al Zaatar survivors, has doors and windows made of ammunition crates, side by side with a modern operating room and an up-to-date, cheerfully decorated, maternity room.

The head of Damour Hospital, Dr. Yousef Iraqi, himself a survivor of Tal al Zaatar, also heads another new emergency hospital at Saida. The Saida Hospital conducts training classes for women that combine first aid and

literacy classes. Though emergency techniques are obviously important, Dr. Iraqi, like other Palestinian doctors, stresses preventative medicine, as well as health-care that treats the "whole person" in his or her social environment. Thus, the Red Crescent has established a range of rehabilitation and youth training programs. Dr. Samir Ayyoub, Director of Information at Acre Hospital said: "In a revolution like ours, the emphasis should be more on preventative medicine, rather than curative, and more emphasis should be on child and mother care."

These attitudes inform the clinics run by resistance groups in cooperation with PRCS inside the camps. At one such clinic in Sabra camp in Beirut, the emphasis is on preventive medicine for children and pregnant women. Staffed by six women who all live in the camp, and aided by visits three times a week by Red Crescent doctors, the clinic checks new-born infants every 15 days and counsels the mothers on hygiene and nutrition. One staff person, Imm Saud, explained why she worked in the clinic: "I came here to learn first aid but after I've

been here, I felt it my duty to work with my sisters for the people. The people know us because we live in the camp, and we will come to know the people more." Another staff member added: "To convince women about the revolution, we have to work with the needs of the people."

Staff people go around the camp and visit new mothers, as well as showing films and holding talks in people's homes about the necessity of inoculating children, and taking babies in for checkups. They are also taking a census of the camp.

The clinic staff is concerned with the situation of Palestinian women, many of whom have large families in difficult circumstances. Explaining that this is a very sensitive area to change, the staff now tries to convince women to wait a year between each pregnancy, to prevent the chronic ill-health that can plague a woman who is continually bearing children. They say that change comes slowly as young girls get involved in the movement and begin having another conception of themselves. Change is also hampered by the fact of Palestinian exile—one mother of ten felt she should

have more children because "already two of my children have died in the fighting."

The health of Palestinians living under occupation also suffers from their situation. Infant mortality, for example, has risen in the West Bank since the occupation. On May 18, 1977, the World Health Organization took note of health problems of Palestinians under occupation and passed Resolution WHA 30.37. Noting that Israel had refused to admit the WHO's "Special Committee of Experts" to the occupied territories to study health conditions, the WHO resolution reads in part: "Convinced that the occupation of territories by force gravely affects the physical, mental and social health conditions of the population under occupation and that this can be rectified only by the cessation of such occupation" and "Deeply concerned at the forms of pressure practised by the occupying authorities, such as the eviction and deportation of medical and auxiliary staff from the occupied territories, with resulting deterioration of medical and auxiliary services with the occupied territories," and concerned about the "detention and ill-treatment of persons, resulting in numerous deaths," the World Health Assembly denounced the "procrastination and obstinacy of the Israeli occupying authorities" and rejected their data concerning health conditions. The resolution also requested the Director General to "continue collaboration with the Palestine Liberation Organization in providing technical and material assistance to raise the level of health of the Palestinian population."

As this resolution points out, health issues are inseparable from other conditions affecting a people; and achieving physical and social well-being demand a "cessation of occupation" and the exercise of self-determination.



Photo: Milt Taam/LNS/Palestine!

Patients in resistance clinic in Sabra Camp.

In Solidarity

(Continued from page 3)

"worldwide support will undoubtedly enable our people to score victory over imperialism, Zionism and racism, which has usurped our homeland and evicted our people."

The Festival ended with an enormous rally of 30,000 people who stood to hear Fidel Castro reiterate Cuba's commitment to international peace and solidarity. Fidel called the Festival a celebration of the success of the "invincible force of just ideas." It was that, and it also strengthened this force, by increasing unity and solidarity.

West Bank Leaders Condemn Administrative Detention

In mid-June, West Bank Leaders sent a memorandum to the Israeli minister of Defense, Ezar Weizman, condemning administrative detention and demanding the immediate release of detainees. The text of the memorandum follows:

To the Israeli Minister of Defense:

We, the undersigned, representing citizens, private and public enterprises, in the name of men of the law and the different professions of the West Bank totally condemn 'administrative arrest' as being a flagrant violation of the dignity and rights of man, the utter humiliation and suppression of the citizen's freedom. . . We, therefore request the immediate release of all administrative detainees held in Israeli prisons without condition, or that at the very least, they should appear in the courts.

We wish to list several points concerning administrative detention:

1. The authorities resort to administrative arrest in cases where they do not possess ample or concrete proof against arrested citizens. This act, in itself, constitutes overt oppression and a violation of international norms, laws, and charters. It is a blatant violation of the Geneva Conventions and the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

2. Administrative detention is a repressive method and blatant violation of the citizen's rights; it is resorted to when the authorities feel that the detainee is about to stand trial or be released. In a clear determination to violate international laws and norms, and human rights, the authorities apply this repression in order to impose psychological and physical torture, and terrorize the citizens of the occupied territories.

3. Administrative detention is a remnant of the 1945 emergency laws applied under the British mandate in Palestine. The reactivation of this measure by the occupation authorities at present, constitutes brutality and barbarity and an aggression against human values and ideals.

4. All laws of the civilized world which respect and sanctify human freedom and rights, have abolished the idea of administrative detention of citizens without trial. What do the occupation authorities have in mind by overtly violating and flaunting human rights during human rights year?

5. Many of those administratively detained have spent more than six months, others three years, in jail without trial, when the authorities do not possess one single piece of evidence against them.

6. Among the detainees are heads of large families, intellectuals, and university students, whose relatives are in need of their vital support.

As we totally condemn administrative detention as being an act against humanity, justice, and fairness, we request again, the immediate release of all administrative detainees, or that they should stand trial so that their fate might be known. In accordance with our full belief that our people should exercise their rights according to the Geneva Convention, and UN human rights declarations and conventions, we plead with you to intervene with the aim of setting free all Palestinian administrative detainees in Israeli jails.

June 1978, signed,
Municipality of Beit Jala
Al-Bireh Municipal Council
Municipality of Bethlehem
Beit Sahur Municipality
An-Nahda Women's Association — Ramallah
Birzeit University
Jordan Red Cross Society — Ramallah
Orthodox Club — Ramallah
Qalqeliyah Municipal Council
Hebron Municipal Council
Halhoul Municipal Council
Jenin Benevolent Association
Nablus Municipal Chairman
Tulkarm Municipal Chairman
Silfeet Municipal Chairman
Anerta Municipal Council
Jenin Municipal Council
. . . and others

Land Confiscation Goes On

Al Shaab, a Jerusalem daily newspaper, reported on July 18 that the Israeli military governor had issued a command closing 7,000 dunams (1,1750 acres) just north of the West Bank city of Al-Bireh to Arab construction. He also ordered all construction work presently underway to be stopped. Al-Bireh, with a population of 22,000 Palestinians, has been stopped from expanding since the occupation. In 1972, the military governor denied a request to expand the municipal boundaries of the city.

At the same time, as reported in *Time* magazine of August 21, 1978, 35 families belonging to the extreme right wing *Gush Emunim* movement are building a new Israeli settlement called Beth El, one mile north of Al-Bireh. A retired Arab schoolteacher from Bireh, Ahmad Thalji, member of a cooperative of 62 retired schoolteachers, who have had their land restricted by the Israelis, commented: "I bought one dunam 20 years ago. Now I am told I cannot build a house. I hear people always speaking about human rights. Where are the human rights in this injustice?" *Time* in its report, added:

To West Bankers, who have sent

complaints to the U.N. and to President Carter, the Al-Bireh case is the latest evidence that Israel is pursuing a policy of creeping annexation of the West Bank. Despite protests from the U.S. and elsewhere that Israeli policy contravenes the Geneva convention forbidding civilian settlements in occupied territory, construction at Beth-El continues.

Antiochian Orthodox Convention Supports Palestinians

The Antiochian Orthodox Church held its 33rd annual convention in Houston, Texas, July 24-29, 1978. The Convention, attended by 2,000 members from the U.S. and Canada adopted a number of resolutions calling for a just peace in the Middle East based on U.N. resolutions, as well as the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and return to their homeland.

Metropolitan Phillip Saliba, the spiritual leader of the Orthodox Church, called on President Carter to show concern for the human rights of Palestinians as well as Blacks in South Africa. He said in his press conference that "Carter spends so much time with the plight of Soviet dissidents, that human rights in countries such as South Africa and Palestine are ignored." Metropolitan Phillip called for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and protested U.S. military support to Israel which has enabled it to invade South Lebanon.

The Chairman of the Near East Department, Mr. Frank Munie, urged the Convention in his annual report to work for the unity and independence of Lebanon, and for the re-establishment of peace based on principles of democracy and brotherhood. He criticized the media's distortion of the conflict as "Christian versus Muslim," and called on Arab-Americans to unite and work for Christian-Islamic goodwill and understanding. He criticized Israel's violations of international law and human rights of Christians and Muslims, and called for a just solution to the Palestine problem based on implementation of Palestinian human rights, UN resolutions, and the right to self-determination and return to their homeland. He urged the U.S. government to stop military and economic aid to Israel due to these violations of human rights.

The Convention received a number of telegrams of support including one from Yassir Arafat, Chairman of the PLO, who appealed to Arab-Americans to support the Palestinians in their struggle for freedom. Pamela Zlott, CBS Religious Affairs producer, praised Arab-Americans for their contributions to civilization and said that Arabs have a "great heritage of spiritual values and principles of justice and goodwill." She urged Arab-Americans to continue their work for goodwill and understanding among peoples.

Palestinian Folk Dance Troupe to Perform in U.S.

A Palestinian folk dance troupe is touring the United States beginning August 25 right through October 21, 1978. They will perform in thirty-one cities throughout the United States. In Washington, they performed at the Kennedy Center September 10 before an enthusiastic audience of 1700.

The group is made up exclusively of Palestinian orphans, the sons and daughters of patriots who have died in the struggle for freedom. They range in age from 13 to 16.

The Palestinian folk dance is a rich art whose development in Palestine can be traced back hundreds of years. The dancers, especially in the *dabke*, often make allusions in their body responses to mass sentiments relating to the joy or pathos of Palestinian concerns. The music, made up of the *tablas*, the *oud* and the *kamanja* flows energetically as it goes from the sonorous low to the high pitches of percussion.

In their tour, the folk artists will be exclusively concerned with demonstrating the wealth of artistic, musical and dancing qualities that are part of Palestinian culture and ethos. Since very few non-Palestinians are aware of the existence of this component in Palestinian society, or have been exposed to it, especially in this country, the visit of the Palestinian Folk



Troupe is a momentous event.

The group of youngsters, who have already chalked up a very successful tour in Europe to their credit, will be sponsored here by the United Holy Land Fund. The choreographer, Abu Khaled, is a well known Palestinian artist who has led a

similar group to the International Youth Festival in Cuba earlier last month. For information about the troupe's performances, see the *Caleandar of Events* or contact the United Holy Land Fund, 312-782-7274, P.O. Box 5541, Chicago, Illinois 50680.

Filastin Al Thawra Warns Against Camp David Summit

In its August 21 editorial, *Filastin Al Thawra*, the official organ of the P.L.O., warned against the "grave dangers inherent in the signing of an Egyptian-Israeli bilateral agreement which would result in the establishment of U.S. military bases in the Sinai." Defining the major battle facing the Palestinian movement as "against capitulation, bilateral agreements and U.S. bases in the Middle East," the editorial called the Camp David summit a "travesty" reminiscent of the "Kissinger school of Middle East drama" in which last minute "miracles" engineered by the U.S. benefit only "U.S. security" and U.S. interests "at the expense of the peoples of the area."

Filastin Al Thawra's prediction was confirmed as the summit began and the U.S. press reported that Carter was considering suggesting not only a U.S. base in the Sinai, but also American involvement in policing the West Bank. The Christian Science Monitor of August 28 also reported that Security Advisor Brezinski was exploring the possibilities of a NATO-like "regional security agreement" encompassing Israel and the "moderate Arab states." Any of

these raise the spectre of a Vietnam-like situation in the area and the denial, once again, of freedom and independence for the Palestinian people.

Islamic-Christian Meeting in Amman Calls for Defense of Palestinian Prisoners

Moslems and Christians joined in a conference to discuss the conditions of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails. The Minister of Islamic Affairs, Waqfs and Holy Sites, together with Islamic and Christian spiritual leaders decided upon the formation of a committee to follow up efforts in offering moral and financial aid to Palestinians incarcerated in occupation jails.

The conferees addressed a cable to UN Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to Arab heads of state and to various organizations calling upon them to exert all their efforts in defense of Palestinian inhabitants of the occupied territories in general, and of prisoners in particular.

They also issued a communique revealing the appalling conditions inside Israeli jails and uncovering the expansionist ambitions of the Israeli authorities.

Calendar of Events

September 15-17: United Holy Land Fund Convention at the Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois. The Palestinian Folk Troupe will perform September 16. For more information: (312) 663-9056.

September 17: Palestinian Folk Troupe at Western Michigan University, Student Union, Kalamazoo, Michigan. For more information: call Dr. Baker at (616) 323-3645.

September 22-24: Palestine Arab Fund Convention at the Hilton Hotel in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Palestinian Folk Troupe will perform.

September 30-October 1: The Palestinians: A Struggle for Survival and Freedom, Conference at the International Inn (10 Thomas Circle, N.W.) in Washington, D.C.

The following is a statement by West Bank mayors on Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, issued by WAFA, the Palestine News Agency, December 21, 1977. The statement was also signed by all West Bank municipalities, national bodies, student organizations, social clubs, women's groups and various other associations:

We state our dissatisfaction with this step taken by President Sadat, because of the results and dangers likely to arise from it and because in his speech to the Knesset he made no mention of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We also declare that the PLO had every right, and indeed the duty, to adopt the attitude it has taken to this visit. In adopting this attitude it was clearly expressing the view and the attitude of the Palestinian people. However, our sense of responsibility prompts us to record that President Sadat has committed himself not to resort to a separate solution with "Israel" and that he has declared that he insists on the Arab character of Jerusalem, "Israel" withdrawing from all the occupied territories, on the refugees returning to their homes and on the Palestinian people being granted their right to self-determination and to establish their independent state.

While recalling the world's commitment to the resolutions of the United Nations and, in particular, General Assembly resolution 3236, adopted on November 22, 1974 and the resolutions of the Algiers and Rabat summits which regarded the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people wherever they may be, we affirm our adherence to these resolutions, as also to the resolutions of the Thirteenth Palestine National Council held in Cairo. We call on all quarters to respect the commitment of the peoples of the world, including our Palestinian people, and we condemn any attempt to prejudice the legitimate rights of our people and, first and foremost, their right to self-determination. In the light of the above we assert the following principles:

1. While stating our attitude to President Sadat's visit to "Israel" we affirm our belief in the role Egypt has played and the sacrifices she has made on behalf of the Palestinian cause and the problems of Arab struggle. We stress the strength of the alliance between our people and the people of Egypt, and our unshakable belief in the central role occupied by Egypt in the battle of Arab liberation, and we salute the struggle and great sacrifices of her people.

2. The ferocity of the battle that is being fought to counter the present imperialist attack on the achievements of our people



Palestinians in Nazareth applaud Toufiq Zayaad as he affirms human rights for Palestinians.

and the Arab people requires the establishment of a broad Arab front comprising all the Arab countries that reject the imperialist attack on the area in all its forms. This front should also include the Arab popular organizations and the PLO. Also required is the mobilization of all economic, political and military resources to resist this attack and to put an end to the conspiracy against all the national gains in Arab lands, and to strengthen the alliance of this front with all forces opposed to imperialism and Zionism.

3. The Palestinian people in the occupied territories unambiguously affirm their belief in the unity of the Palestinian people inside and outside the country. They also stress that all Palestinians are represented by the PLO alone, which is the only quarter entitled to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. We condemn any attempt to establish an alternative or parallel leadership.

4. The rights of the Palestinian people, as affirmed by the various resolutions of the UN, are not subject to bargaining, and first and foremost among these rights is their legitimate right to self-determination in their land and in full freedom.

We therefore reject any form of tutelage, whatever its source, and all kinds of solutions which detract from the independence of the Palestinian people and the independence of their will.

We therefore cannot agree that the Palestinian state should be forcibly linked to any other quarter, as such a trend is incompatible with our people's freedom to

decide their own destiny.

5. From the occupied territories we salute the struggle of all the Arab peoples. We also salute all the forces that have provided support for our just struggle. Above all we salute the struggle of people outside the country under the leadership of the PLO and we call for resolute resistance to all attempts to shake the Arab solidarity which is based on the will of the Arab nation for delivery from the imperialist attack and Zionist aggression.

Palestinians living in Israel are an indivisible part of Palestinian society as they are of the Palestinian question. Following is a declaration signed by 56 prominent Palestinians ["Israeli Arabs"], leaders of diverse organizations and in their community, here outline their national rights and commitment to the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Declaration was issued in Nazareth, February 1978.

Our Palestinian-Arab people, as well as Arab-Israeli relations in general, are currently exposed to the most delicate and dangerous stage in the conflict since the Balfour Declaration.

The Palestinian people have struggled persistently and continue to struggle for their self-evident and natural right, namely, for their right of self-determination and the establishment of an independent state.

This right was recognized by the international community and was established in a series of resolutions of the United Nations Organization during the

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The Case Against Zionism

Israel: Utopia, Inc.

Uri Davis
Zed Press, 1977

The Land of Promise
Abdelwahab M. Elmessiri
North American, Inc., 1977

When Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin announced to a group of Jewish settlers in May, 1978 that Israel would not give up "one inch" of "Judea and Samaria" (the occupied West Bank and Gaza), he was re-affirming the Zionist tenet that Jews have (in the words of the first Israeli Minister of Religion) a "heavenly and eternal" claim to the land of "Eretz Israel," a claim superceding any historical one. If this is not the case as Begin himself pointed out in an address to settlers in 1969: "If this is Palestine and not the Land of Israel, then you are conquerors and not tillers of the land. You are invaders. If this is Palestine, then it belongs to the people who lived here before you came. Only if this is the Land of Israel do you have a right to live in it."

That this assertion of a timeless "biblical" claim to the land has certainly obstructed present and past efforts to establish a just peace in the Middle East is reason for all concerned with peace to examine it carefully. Uri Davis, an Israeli Jew and Abdelwahab Elmessiri, an Egyptian Arab, have contributed valuable and timely studies of Zionism and the state of Israel that take Zionism out of the realm of the spiritual and place it in its concrete historical context. Both *The Land of Promise* and *Utopia, Inc.* concern themselves with the "problem of origin" as Davis terms it—*how and why* Zionism developed. The two studies are complementary: Elmessiri focuses more on the outlines of Zionist ideology as expressed by the words and deeds of its founders and leaders while Davis, whose study is subtitled "A study of class, state and corporate kin control" concentrates on the process by which the ruling elite created and control the institutions of the Zionist state. Both books illuminate the consequences of solving the "Jewish problem" by creating a "Jewish state for Jews" in Palestine.

Elmessiri, using a wealth of primary Zionist sources, analyzes political Zionism as a European settler-colonial movement deeply imbued with the 19th century European notions of the inferiority of non-European peoples and the right of "superior races" to domination. Theodore Herzl, the founder of modern political Zionism, called Zionists "representatives of Western

civilization," who would bring "cleanliness, order and the well established customs of the Occident to this plague-ridden, blighted corner of the Orient." Politically, these ideas were firmly coupled with the necessity for the Zionist colonial project to find a sponsor among the Western imperial powers. Britain, and then the United States, filled this role.

The Land of Promise is especially helpful in its detailed examination of Zionist attitudes and practice towards the Jewish people, the Jewish diaspora (Jews living outside Israel) and anti-semitism. The Zionist construct of the "pure Jew"—the "Jew who is 100% Jewish" as David Ben-Gurion said—emerges as having very little to do with the lives and history of most Jewish people. Indeed, contempt for diaspora Jews marks the attitudes of many Zionist leaders, like David Ben-Gurion who referred to diaspora Jews as "human dust." Zionist analysis of the diaspora ring of anti-semitism: the Israeli newspaper *Davar*, for example, once headlined an article about immigration to Israel "The Regeneration of a Parasitic People." The value of exploring these issues lies in making the crucial analytical separation between Zionism and Judaism, and in fact, noting the ways they are in direct conflict. For this alone, Elmessiri's book should be read by those concerned with the future of Judaism and the fight against anti-semitism.

Both Elmessiri and Davis focus on the second class status of Sephardic (or "Oriental") Jews (Jews from African or Arab countries) in Israel and the attitudes of the Ashkenazi (Jews from the West) towards this majority of Israel's population. Zionist leaders have been outspoken about the supposedly ill effects of the Sephardic non-Western influence: Abba Eban cited "the danger less the predominance of immigrants of Oriental Origin force Israel to equalize its cultural level with that of the neighboring world." Less diplomatically, the influential newspaper *Ha'aretz* pontificated in 1949 that Oriental Jews brought "dirt, card games for money, drunkenness and fornication." Figures cited by Davis showing that there has been no narrowing of the gap between Sephardic and Ashkenazi in housing, education and jobs demonstrate that this racism has been institutionalized in Israeli society.

The Sephardic Jews, both books suggest, who benefit the least from Zionism and are in fact, Arab in their cultural identification, may in the future serve as a "bridge to the Arab world." Davis, however, emphasizes that at present, Sephardic Jews are a base

of support for right-wing Zionism.

Davis's book is one of the first studies of the Zionist ruling elite and its control of the state. A 1970 study of 140 members of Israel's power elite noted their common Eastern European origin: "X (Israeli leader) originated from somewhere within a circle of about 600 kilometers from Pinsk." Shared background and values and the intermarrying of key families, which Davis explores in some depth, contributed to the formation of a stable elite which "crystallized at a particular moment in the history of the Zionist movement and the state of Israel, constituting itself as the executive arm of the Jewish state."

This elite is also characterized by ties to the *kibbutz*, "agricultural collectives" which prior to 1948, were the "frontline" of the future state, serving, for example, a paramilitary, as well as a productive, function. Today, although only 3% of Israel's population live on *kibbutzim*, 25% of the Israeli Cabinet, 22% of the military high command, and a majority of airforce pilots (the elite in the Israeli Army) have a *kibbutz* background.

Davis's discussion of the myth of "kibbutz socialism" is part of a general analysis of the self-proclaimed "socialism" of Labor Zionism (the Zionism of Meir, Rabin, Peres, et. al.) which claims a progressive and democratic stance for Zionism. In this context, Davis's examination of the Histadrut (the General Federation of Workers in Eretz Israel) is particularly revealing. The Histadrut, which claims to represent the interests of Israeli workers, owns in whole or part 54 of the top 205 Israeli corporations, is the second largest employer in Israel, has extensive interests in South Africa through the Histadrut-controlled Koor Industries, and exploits cheap Arab labor from the West Bank and Gaza.

Ma'ariv newspaper described the case of the Histadrut-owned Hishuelei ha-Karmel factory. This plant, because of the "heat, deafening noise and the exceptional physical exertion" had difficulty finding enough workers so the Israeli security agencies authorized the plant to employ Arab workers from the West Bank, which today make up the majority of the plant's workforce. When Jewish workers protested to the Histadrut, it "significantly assisted in changing the Jewish workers attitude" by arguing that Arabs only get the "black jobs," "unskilled, hard and dirty" work that Israeli Jews reject. Thus, this "union" succeeds in increasing the profits of the company (which

it owns) by employing cheap non-union labor, while it also bolsters racism among Israeli Jews and furthers the colonization of the West Bank.

Davis's examination and experience of Zionism leads him to believe that Zionism and the "exclusively Jewish state" must be defeated and replaced by a "socialist, multi-national secular and democratic Republic of Palestine." His predictions for the immediate future of the region, however, are pessimistic, as he sees an increasing U.S. strangle hold on the area resulting in a "Vietnamization" of the Middle East. Davis believes two necessary factors for positive change in the Middle East are the development of the Palestinian resistance and the "withdrawal of loyalty" to the state of Israel by its Oriental Jewish inhabitants.

The scenarios for this happening are treated sketchily. Although both books are excellent in their description of the effects of Zionism on the Palestinian people, the treatment of the significance and effects of the Palestinian resistance, both in general and on Zionism, remain undeveloped in both books and at times, inaccurate. For example, Davis gives a thoughtful and convincing portrayal of the present consciousness of Oriental Jews, whose

fears and insecure situation in society push them towards right-wing philosophies and anti-Arab racism. But he adds to his description: "He is (properly) afraid that the victory of the Palestinian resistance would result in forcing him out of his poor, overcrowded shelter and alienating job back into the tent camp and the life of idle employment of the refugee." Such a statement indicates that Davis has a blindspot in his views of the philosophy and strategy of the Palestinian resistance. The adoption of the "democratic secular state" as the goal of the resistance, which Davis acknowledges as very significant, speaks precisely to these fears. Admittedly, there is much to be done—both theoretically and practically—to reach the goal, but Davis's uneasiness seems to come more from the deep fear and distrust of Palestinians rampant in Israeli society, than from flaws in the Palestinian position. Nonetheless, for anti-Zionist Israeli Jews to put forth concrete strategies and proposals for the future is in itself positive.

Elmesseri's concluding remarks are vague and his call for a "reconstituted Zionism premised on the nonpolitical concept of religious peoplehood of the Jews" is neither clear nor compatible with

the bulk of his book. To put forward an apolitical Zionism as a real possibility, after demonstrating that historically, Zionism has developed into political Zionism and nothing else, is to lose the historical grasp that Elmesseri demonstrates elsewhere in his book.

Elmesseri, however, would probably agree with Davis's final characterization of present-day Zionism as "suicidal Zionism," demanding total loyalty to a state almost completely dependent on the U.S., heavily militarized, directly colonizing 1½ million Palestinians, and bent on continuing an aggressive, expansionist course. The rise of "suicidal Zionism," in fact, gives books like these their importance. It is imperative for public opinion in this country, and around the world, to ensure that Zionism does not undermine regional and world peace on its suicidal path.

Land of Promise is available from the Palestine Information Office and is also in some major bookstores. *Utopia, Inc.* is available from the New York Palestine Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 1757, Manhattanville Station, New York, New York, 10027.

For the Record

(Continued from page 12)
past 30 years.

It is now established, after the exchange of visits between Sadat and Begin and its aftermath, that the intention is determined to split Arab ranks throughout its great homeland, the Arab world, strike at the Arab progressive forces, and liquidate the Palestinian problem — which lies at the heart of the conflict — in order to promote aims that are completely contrary to the establishment of just and lasting peace.

In the face of the dangerous situation and the intentional Israeli disregard of the Palestinian-Arab people and their right to establish an independent state alongside the state of Israel, as well as Israel's obstinate disregard of the civil and national rights of the Palestinian-Arabs within the state of Israel, we, the Palestinian residents in the state of Israel since its establishment, wish to call world public opinion, as well as Arab and Israeli public opinion to the following issues of principle:

1. The Palestinian problem is at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and any attempt to ignore this fundamental reality will not lead to the establishment of a just and true peace. Rather, such attempts will result in the continuation of the same conflict.

2. The fundamental solution of the Palestinian problem must begin with securing the right of self-determination of

the Palestinian-Arab people, the establishment of its independent state and the solution of the refugee problem according to the repeated resolutions of the United Nations Organization.

3. The only true legitimate representative of the Palestinian-Arab people is the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and all attempts to create a substitute for the PLO from among those who are the crutches of the occupation and Arab reaction are plainly ridiculous.

4. The repeated attempts of the triangle Carter-Begin-Sadat to remove the PLO and the Soviet Union from their natural role in the pursuit and the promotion of the just solution aims to serve imperialist strategic, oil and financial interests, Zionist colonial expansion and the interests of Arab reaction.

5. Being an inalienable part of the Palestinian-Arab people, we wish to emphasize that any solution of the Palestinian problem must include official recognition and international guarantees for the national identity of the Palestinian residents in the state of Israel, their right to remain in their homeland, the re-appropriation of their confiscated lands, property, villages and charitable *waqf* estates as well as the implementation of their full cultural, social, civil and political rights.

Sharon...

(Continued from page 4)

is in no way an obstacle to peace and is full of praise for Begin's "self-rule" plan for the West Bank and Gaza declaring it a "universally far-reaching plan... If I were a Palestinian Arab, I would have seized this plan and held on to it with both hands." Other forces inside Israel, especially the "Peace Now" movement, regard the new wave of settlement activity as a crippling blow to peace. On August 11, thousands of "Peace Now" activists demonstrated at Shiloh a "Gush Emunim settlement set up under the guise of an "archeological dig." The demonstrators erected a huge statue of dove, the symbol of peace, outside Shiloh. Two weeks later, 100 young reservists (not associated with "Peace Now") signed a letter to Begin declaring they cannot defend Israeli settlements on the West Bank and Gaza because they express the "annexationist aims and the rejectionist policy" of the government. At the present, however, Sharon's hawk-like policies have free reign against Palestinian land and people. Only international condemnation and pressure exerted immediately can stand against this threat to peace and fundamental human rights.

* * *

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Mahmoud Darweesh

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1978

11:00 - 1:00 P.M. Palestinians in Exile
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Editorial

(Continued from page 2)

tradition itself. The policies follow in their transformation.

This change, followed by the appropriate transformation, will occur only when the American government, which is responsible for underwriting Israel's economic and military viability, takes a bold stand and forces a dramatic shift in the outrageous stance currently adopted by Israel.

The shift has to take place if for no other reason than the fact that the United States' position on a Mideastern settlement is, on major points, diametrically opposed to that of Israel. The US believes that *all* Israeli settlements established on occupied Arab lands are "illegal" and an "obstacle to peace." The US does not recognize Israel's annexation of Jerusalem. The US is on record, in the joint US-USSR statement on the Mideast, as being committed to the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people," and, in voting repeatedly for UN Resolution 194, to the right of Palestinian refugees for repatriation to their former homes in Palestine. And finally the US is committed to UN Resolution 242 which calls for the evacuation of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab lands, including the West Bank/Gaza. Israel is categorically opposed to *all* of that.

However, that said, neither the American government nor leaders of the Zionist regime in Palestine should have any illusions about the Palestinians — as a people, a cause, a movement and a nation. The Palestinians, in their long, sixty year old struggle, in and out of Palestine, have never, at any time, allowed anyone to entertain the

notion that any leaders other than Palestinian leaders, can be a determining force of their national destiny. Palestinians do not believe, or encourage anyone to believe, that 90 per cent of the cards, in a settlement of the Palestine conflict, are in the hands of the American government or any other government in the world.

By the sheer weight of history, by their endurance and long commitment to struggle for freedom, the Palestinian people have a destiny in Palestine that is beyond the American government to change, the Zionist movement to obliterate or indigenous Arab forces to manipulate.

Any attempt to deflect this destiny from its preordained course, at Camp David or

elsewhere, will be not movement toward peace but movement up a spiral staircase set with mirrors, each reflecting infinite images from a history of continued resistance. And the way the Palestinians have repeatedly asserted and reasserted their reality these last sixty years is nothing if not an eloquent statement about how their struggle goes on today with the same vitality as it did yesterday.



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